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ABSTRACT

This study identified undergraduate and post-college activities/experiences that may affect alumni giving. The Input-Environment-Output model, developed by Alexander Astin, along with multivariate statistical analysis served as the framework to analyze various input, environmental, and outcome variables. A review of the literature covers fund-raising methods and techniques, relationships between institutional characteristics and fund-raising, and the effect of student characteristics on fund-raising. Income variables were comprised of various student characteristics at the time the students first entered college as freshmen. The environmental variables encompassed both undergraduate experiences and post-college activities and experiences over a 20-year period. The output or outcomes (dependent) variable was represented by the level of contributions reported. The sample was 299 alumni of Pepperdine University (California) who had completed a comprehensive survey as freshmen between 1973 and 1976. Analysis suggested that undergraduate experiences were not a good basis for predicting alumni contributions. Among alumni, involvement in alumni activities and income were the best predictors of contributions. (Contains 17 references.) (DB)

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Identifying Undergraduate And Post-College Characteristics That May Affect Alumni Giving

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Jean Endo
Editor
AIR Forum Publications

Identifying Undergraduate And Post-College Characteristics That May Affect Alumni Giving

Abstract

This study attempts to identify undergraduate and post-college activities/experiences that may effect alumni giving. The Input-Environment-Output model, developed by Alexander Astin, along with multivariate statistical analysis serves as the framework to analyze various input, environmental, and outcome variables for this study (Astin, 1991, 1993). The input variables of the model were comprised of various student characteristics at the time the students first entered college as freshmen. The environmental variables encompass undergraduate, followed by post-college activities and experiences over a 20-year period. The output or outcomes (dependent) variable is represented by the level of contributions reported.

Introduction and Background

The importance of fund-raising for higher education has grown significantly over the last two decades (Brittingham & Pezzullo, 1990). Both private and public institutions have been confronted with several factors, which have increased the need to seek new revenue sources. These factors include reduced government funding for student financial aid programs, declining enrollments, inflation, and the necessity to curtail tuition growth (Hornbaker, 1983; Oglesby, 1991; and Thompson, 1983).

Several trends in private support for higher education have occurred since its origin in the 17th century. The approach to financial support has changed from church affiliated and individual and personal solicitation to requests by institutions in an organized and professional manner (Brittingham & Pezzullo, 1990). Church-affiliated colleges of the past once depended upon their clergy or faculty to raise funds for their institutions (Pavlovich, 1993); whereas, today, most colleges have professional development staff who oversee fund-raising efforts. Brittingham & Pezzullo (1990) see another trend as being the switch from the notion of charity to a concept of philanthropy. This is the case, particularly from sources other than alumni, where the value of the gift is measured as investments in society, corporations, and other organizations.

The need for fund-raising today has developed into an on-going responsibility by each institution's full-time development staff. This approach compares to past practices where fund-raising was reserved for crises and directional changes (Brittingham & Pezzullo, 1990). Modern fund-raising techniques focus on providing support to maintain the strength of institutions as well as afford opportunities which benefit students, and communities. Another big change in fund-raising has occurred over the last 40 years with the addition of state-assisted colleges and

universities seeking private funds (Brittingham & Pezzullo, 1990, Hornbaker, 1983). As state-assisted schools have felt the pressure for additional funding, they've begun to adopt techniques and methods used by private institutions. As competition for philanthropic dollars from the public sector increase, private institutions are forced to achieve a greater understanding of what motivates donations from the institution's alumni and other private sources. Hornbaker (1983, p. xvii) states: "Institutional survival requires more effective institutional advancement activities."

With an increased focus being placed on the institution's alumni - a better understanding of why alumni choose to contribute to their undergraduate alma mater becomes more important. In the past, data have not been available for analyzing the effects of the student's undergraduate experience for an extended time period. Fischer (1994) provides, in his 1993 follow-up of 1973-76 entering freshman, a study designed to assist in gaining a better understanding of the long-term effects that undergraduate and post-college involvement activities and experiences have upon students. This study is interested in how these effects might predict which future alumni are more likely to contribute to this undergraduate institution.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to identify undergraduate and post-college characteristics that may predict alumni giving at Seaver College. It is the hope of the researcher that this information will provide insights to assist in future fund-raising efforts.

Research Question

The following research question will address the overall cohort group as well as men and women separately. The question presented is: What are the undergraduate and post-college

involvement characteristics of Pepperdine alumni that are associated with contributors versus non-contributors, and their contribution level?

Review of the Literature

The review of the literature is organized into three sections. The first section contains findings related to fund-raising methods and techniques. The second section reports on literature findings that are associated with institutional characteristics and their relationship with fund-raising. Finally, the third section deals with the issue of student characteristics and their effect on fund-raising.

Fund-raising Methods and Techniques

The number of studies published on the effectiveness of fund-raising in higher education is somewhat limited. Duronio and Loessin (1990) summarized their findings on the subject in an article published in *The Review of Higher Education*. They found a study, written in 1969, by John Leslie on the topic of advancement programs in higher education. Leslie recommended that, over time, "yardsticks of performance" should be established and tested in order to analyze fund-raising success. He also advocated improved record-keeping and data collection.

Thompson (1983) conducted a study analyzing fund-raising methods and techniques specific to Church of Christ-related four-year colleges. His research resulted in recommendations that development offices need to: achieve a greater understanding of their institution; increase the use of volunteers; publicize success - not impending doom; ask for challenging gifts; seek advice from objective professional council; increase deferred giving; keep donor records up to date; use a combination of capital campaigns, annual giving, and deferred gifts to achieve greater success; evaluate donors frequently by an anonymous feasibility study to

match desires with institutional objectives; ensure that the institutional mission is clear and restated frequently; increase the number of development staff; and provide staff with continuous education of the development process.

A recent study by Pavlovich (1993) recommends that adopting programs that seem effective at another institution should be avoided. Also, advancement activities created to produce gift income should mirror long-term strategies and the unique environment and traits of the institution.

Institutional Characteristics

Six institutional factors were found to be correlated with actual funds raised in a study by Hornbaker (1983) that included: "(a) current market value of endowment funds, (b) dollars spent for education, scholarships, and general educational purposes, (c) library holdings, (d) number of alumni, (e) percentage of freshmen applications rejected, and (f) percentage of faculty holding an earned doctoral degree" (p. 206).

Brittingham (1993) reviewed a follow-up study conducted by Duronio and Loessin in 1991. This follow-up study found no single pattern of factors to explain the success of fund-raising at the institutions they studied. However, the study did find some commonalties. For instance, every one of the successful institutions was clear about its mission and its educational niche in the higher education arena. Each had high levels of both optimism and realism, strong presidential leadership, and an experienced chief development officer who possessed the necessary skills to pursue funding opportunities.

An article by Baade and Sundberg (1993) stresses the importance of establishing a strong emotional connection between the student and the institution as a way of ensuring future success in alumni giving. Their research also finds that if the alma maters of alumni are held in high

public regard, the likelihood of contributions are increased. Favorable quality rankings, like those found in the *U.S. News and World Report's* publications, are also found to be important instruments which motivate alumni to contribute. Further, Baade and Sundberg recommended that colleges utilize their age distribution information for both long-term and short-term fund-raising strategies.

Student Characteristics

House (1987) conducted a study which sought to identify student characteristics that predicted alumni giving in public higher education. He found the best predictors of alumni giving to be highest academic degree, perceived need of financial support, gender, and the decade of graduation. In other words, older male alumni with advanced degrees who viewed their undergraduate institution to be in financial difficulties were more likely to be contributors.

Seymour (1988) in his book, *Designs for Fund-Raising*, discusses basic motivations for alumni giving. It goes without saying that those who harbor feelings of indifference, shame, or hostility toward their undergraduate institution are not likely to become willing contributors. Seymour states that pride of association is key to motivate one to support a group or cause. He also states that pride is enhanced by communication and ceremonials, but suggests that the best way to invoke pride is by active participation in alumni meetings, services, and committee responsibilities. He concludes by suggesting that pride of association coupled with involvement in the alumni program will produce a priceless combination.

In regard to future giving, undergraduate characteristics/behaviors/experiences of alumni lack predictive strength (Brittingham & Pezzullo, 1990). Brittingham and Pezzullo go on to suggest that findings on current status, beliefs, and behavior of alumni are better predictors of giving. Although occupation is not a consistent predictor, the authors found evidence to suggest

that alumni in higher-paying positions are more likely to give or to give more. A consistent predictor of giving, they discovered, was earning more than one degree from the same institution.

Loyalty to one's alma mater is universally viewed as a very significant characteristic in predicting alumni donations. Consistently reported indicators of alumni giving, according to Brittingham & Pezzullo (1990), are emotional attachment to the school, participation in alumni events, and participation in and contributions to other voluntary and religious groups.

Oglesby (1991) conducted research which closely mirrors the intent of this study. He examined a random sample of 800 alumni (400 donor alumni and 400 non-donor alumni) at Southwest Baptist University (SBU) in Missouri. The purpose of his study was to identify certain alumni characteristics or experiences that might predict donor status and donor level. Oglesby found age and student government participation to be two variables which were consistent predictors of donors and the level of their contributions.

Research Methodology

Multivariate analysis (step-wise multiple regression) and Alexander Astin's Input-Environment-Outcome (I-E-O) Model provide the framework for this study. Beta coefficient tables are used for the analysis of the colinearity (overlap) between and among the various independent variables. The following sections will discuss the study sample and explain the I-E-O Model and multiple regression, and define the dependent and independent variables.

Sample

The original sample consisted of freshmen students at Seaver College who participated in the 1973-1976 Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP) surveys. The Pepperdine University alumni office was able to provide 558 current addresses for those alumni who had

completed the CIRP questionnaire as freshmen between 1973-1976 and graduated within five years after their initial enrollment. A comprehensive follow-up questionnaire was mailed to this population requesting undergraduate and post-college involvement activities. The 57 percent return rate resulted in an alumni cohort group of 299 respondents consisting of 160 women and 139 men (Fischer, 1994). The data base compiled for these individuals from the original CIRP questionnaire combined with the 1993 follow-up questionnaire resulted in an extensive data file on each alumni respondent.

I-E-O Model and Multiple Regression

The I-E-O Model along with multivariate statistical analysis serves as the framework to analyze various input, environmental, and outcome variables for this study (Astin, 1991). The input variables of the model were comprised of various student characteristics at the time the students first entered Seaver College as freshmen during the fall terms 1973 through 1976. The environmental variables encompass undergraduate, followed by post-college activities and experiences over the ensuing 20-year period. The output or outcomes (dependent) variable is represented by the level of contributions reported for 1991 and 1992.

The environmental element of the model serves two purposes. The first is to focus analysis on the effects of student involvement during the undergraduate experience. The second is to isolate the post-college years, which follow the undergraduate experience (post-college involvement).

For instance, since the post-college involvement variables follow the undergraduate involvement variables in sequence of occurrence, the predictive strength of the post-college variables are determined after input/background and undergraduate involvement variables have been controlled for in the model. The strength of the I-E-O Model is Astin's (1991) "blocked

regression" approach which uses temporal sequencing of the various input variables. The input/background variables are considered first as a "block," followed by the undergraduate involvement variables as a block, followed by the post-college involvement activities and experiences as a final and separate block.

Multiple regression analysis enables the use of two or more independent variables (input and environmental) to analyze and predict a dependent (outcome) measure (Astin, 1991). Multiple regression and other multivariate statistical procedures measure correlations among the independent variables (Astin, 1991). Multiple regression analysis is a statistical technique that enables large numbers of potentially biasing student input characteristics to be controlled. Controlling the input variables is necessary in order to eliminate their effect (or bias) on the outcome variable (Fischer, 1994).

The I-E-O Model, coupled with multiple regression, is used to minimize bias in estimating the impact of the environmental variables on outcome variables (Fischer, 1994). The blocked, step-wise multiple regression technique, using SPSS-X software (SPSS, 1991), provides the foundation for analyzing the relative strength of the input and environment variables being studied in the separate blocks. Because stepwise regression computes all direct effects between the independent and dependent variables, it is also possible to examine the indirect effects. This is done by using the blocking technique to group the independent variables by their temporal sequence and then following the step-by-step change in the Betas. The "Beta ins" indicate the Beta coefficient that each independent variable would obtain if it were entered into the regression equation on the next step (Astin, 1991; Fischer, 1994).

Dependent Variable

The dependent or outcome variable is the variable being affected by the independent variable (Wiersma, 1991). This study focuses on the outcome variable, level of contributions, for those alumni who indicated they made contributions to Pepperdine in either 1991 or 1992. Fischer's (1994) study divided the contribution levels into the following categories: Less than $50; $51 to $100; $101 to $250; $251 to $500; $501 to $1,000; and Over $1,000.

Independent Variables

The independent or control variable affects the dependent variable under study and is included in the research design so that its effects can be determined (Wiersma, 1991). The strength of this study lies in the number of independent variables available.

Results: Level of Contribution

This section explains the results when "contributions" were controlled as the dependent variable. To best facilitate an understanding of the findings, the following information is organized into three sections. The first section discusses the results of undergraduate student involvement. The second section clarifies the effects of post-college involvement and the third section interprets gender differences.

Undergraduate Involvement

There was only one undergraduate involvement variable, Relationship with Other Students, that entered the regression. This variable attempts to measure the students' perception of their "sociability" compared to other students (Fischer, 1994). The survey question was worded as follows: "During college, when it came to my relationship with other students, I was: Pretty much a loner, Not very sociable, Moderately sociable, or Very sociable." When following

the step-by-step change in the Betas, described in the Research Methodology section earlier, this variable was reduced to non-significance when the post-college variable, Involvement in Pepperdine Alumni, entered the regression at step 10. This suggests a shared relationship with Pepperdine alumni, a significant post-college involvement variable that predicts contributions. It is therefore feasible to imply that relationships with other students, or one's "sociability," can influence an individual toward involvement in Pepperdine alumni which, in turn, results in the individual becoming a contributor to the University.

Since undergraduate involvement is the focus of this study, a number of undergraduate involvement activities that were significant at the outset were "tracked" as part of the overall regression analysis. These variables included Participated in Intramural Sports, Participated in Student Government, and Majored in Business. These undergraduate activities/experiences were all reduced to non-significance at the first step when gender entered the regression. This suggests, after controlling for gender, that these three variables are activities in which male students are more likely to participate in than female students.

Also, the undergraduate involvement variable, Studied in the Library, remained significant until step seven when the variable, Relationships with Other Students, entered the regression. This suggests a relationship exists between the two variables and is supported by Fischers' (1994) study that found "studying in the library" during the 1970s was more of a social activity than an academic activity.

Additionally, the undergraduate activity variable, Watching T.V., was reduced to non-significance at step three when the input/background variable, Obtain Recognition From Colleagues, entered the regression. Astin (1993) found that watching television has positive correlations with what he calls "status striving." In light of this, it becomes more apparent why

the relationship between watching television and the desire to obtain recognition from colleagues was found to exist.

Post-College Involvement

All of the post-college variables that entered the regression had a positive relationship with the dependent variable. Involvement in Pepperdine Alumni, is the strongest predictor of alumni contributions among them. The remaining significant post-college involvement variables, Involvement in Fraternity/Sorority Alumni, Level of Individual Income, and Spouse is Pepperdine Graduate, are all strong predictors of alumni contributions as well.

Gender Differences

In reviewing the input/background variables, the effects of gender cannot be completely eliminated by controlling other input and environmental variables. In fact, the effects of gender on contributions continue to operate both during and after college. Therefore, the likelihood of women and men contributing as alumni can only be partially explained by the variables used in this study.

This is a result of what Astin (1991) calls an "interaction effect." An interaction effect is "when the effect of one variable on another depends upon the value of a third variable" (p.121). It simply means that the effects of whether or not an individual becomes a contributing alumni is not the same for women as it is for men. Analyzing the differences between the "Betas after inputs" for women versus men is the best way to study interaction effects according to Fischer (1994) who defines "direct" interaction effects as those effects with Beta coefficients (for either women or men) that remain significant at the final Beta.

Table 1 was developed to study interaction effects between women and men related to undergraduate involvement. None of the variables for females students remained significant at the final Beta. Two variables, Performed Volunteer Work and Involvement in University Publications, were significant for male students. Involvement in volunteer work, for males, had a negative effect on their inclination to contribute as alumni, whereas involvement in college publications had a positive effect. Although these two variables had no significant effect on contributions for women, the relationship in each case was opposite of that observed for men.

Table 1

Undergraduate Involvement Predicting *Contributions*:

	Simple r		Beta After Inputs		Final Beta	
Description	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Entered One or Both Gender Regressions:						
Relationships w/ Other Students	16^	14^	10	09	06	-07
Performed Volunteer Work	25*	-05	22*	-07	10	-16^
Publications	02	14^	-05	20*	-01	16^

Note : ^p<0.05; *p<0.01. Decimals before numbers have been omitted.

One might speculate that those male students who were involved in student publications became more knowledgeable about the University, which resulted in a long-term commitment to the well being of the institution in the form of alumni contributions. In regards to volunteer work, it is possible that the type of work performed by men was unrelated to the University versus the positive experience reflected in the female responses related to this activity.

Table 2 provides the simple correlations, Betas after inputs, and final Betas for the post-college variables that entered the separate gender regressions. There were two post-college

variables that reflected interaction effects based on gender. These were Level of Individual Income and Number of Siblings Attending. For men, Individual Income was an important predictor in whether or not they contributed to their undergraduate institution. This variable had no effect on women. On the other hand, the number of siblings attending the University was a positive predictor for women and had no effect for men. The remaining post-college involvement/experiences had similar relationships for both women and men.

Table 2

Post-College Involvement Predicting *Contributions*:

	Simple r		Beta After Inputs		Final Beta	
Description	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Entered One or Both Gender Regressions:						
Pepperdine Alumni	44*	43*	35*	39*	21*	38*
Fraternity/Sorority Alumni	47*	25*	37*	19*	21*	19*
Spouse is Pepperdine Grad.	35*	14^	29*	11	15^	09
Individual Income	02	31*	01	29*	-01	28*
Number of Siblings Attend.	31*	-04	30*	-08	19*	-06
Prof., Trade, Farm, or Union Org.	05	-02	-01	-07	-05	-21*

Note : ^p<0.05; *p<0.01. Decimals before numbers have been omitted.

Results: Participation in Pepperdine Alumni

Given the predictive strength that the post-college variable, Involvement in Pepperdine Alumni, had in relation to alumni contributions, another regression was constructed to see if any undergraduate involvement variables might be significant in predicting this activity. This provided some additional insights regarding both undergraduate and post-college involvement

characteristics that predict participation in alumni, which, in turn, has proven to be a strong predictor of alumni contributions.

Undergraduate Involvement

For the dependent variable: "Involvement in Pepperdine Alumni", four undergraduate involvement variables were found to be significant. These included Performed Volunteer Work, Amount of Time Watching Television, Relationships with Other Students (the "sociability" variable), and Participated in the Year-In-Europe (YIE) Program.

It seems logical that students who performed volunteer work as undergraduates would also be inclined to become active participants in their alumni association. Volunteer work is positively related to other types of altruistic values related to community and social activism (Astin, 1993). So it should come as no surprise that the variable, Performed Volunteer Work, was significant in predicting Pepperdine alumni involvement.

Astin (1993) suggests that the development of materialistic values seem to be encouraged by watching television. He states that watching television "has positive correlations with Status Striving, commitment to the goal of being very well off financially, and the view that the principal value of a college education is to increase one's earning power" (p.390). It is possible that as these individuals become more successful financially they have more time to become involved with the alumni organization which increases their emotional ties to the University and leads to alumni contributions. The significance of the variable, Watching T.V., may also be influenced by the make-up of the cohort group, which was heavily weighted with business career professionals (Fischer, 1994).

The variable, Relationships with Other Students, is connected to sociability. The fact that this variable is significant suggests that those individuals whose personality traits tend to be more

outgoing or sociable will likely become participants in activities and events, which are characteristic of active alumni groups.

The final undergraduate involvement variable that was significant in relation to the dependent variable is Participation in YIE. In the early 70s this involved a year of study in Heidelberg, Germany for approximately fifty students per year. The students not only lived in the same house together, but also attended classes, studied, and traveled together as well. This activity is likely to form stronger emotional bonds with the University and therefore may motivate future involvement in the alumni organization. It is worth noting that as other variables entered the regression the predictive strength of this variable increased, whereas the opposite effect is usually witnessed. This is an indication that this variable has a direct effect on the dependent variable, Participation in Pepperdine Alumni.

Post-College Involvement

Although the primary focus of this study is on undergraduate involvement, there were a number of post-college involvement variables that were significant for this dependent variable (Involvement in Pepperdine Alumni), as well. These included the variables Involvement in Professional, Trade, Farm or Union Organizations, Contributed Financially, and Selectivity Score.

The relationship observed for the variable, Involvement in Professional, Trade, Farm or Union Organizations, was both positive and significant. This finding indicates that those individuals who are involved in their professional organizations are also likely to become involved with Pepperdine alumni.

The variable, Contributed Financially, has the highest correlation with the dependent variable alumni participation. This relationship should be expected because participation in

alumni had the highest correlation when contributions was the dependent variable. In other words, when one of these two variables are held as the dependent variable, the other will have the highest correlation as an independent variable.

The Selectivity Score variable refers to the prestige of the respective graduate/professional schools. What is interesting about this finding is the negative relationship between the Selectivity Score and the dependent variable. In other words, this suggests that the more prestigious one's graduate/professional school the less likely the individual will become involved with their undergraduate institution.

Summary and Conclusions

Predicting whether or not alumni will contribute appears to have little to do with their undergraduate experiences at Seaver College. Since there were no undergraduate involvement variables that remained significant after controlling for the various post-college activities and experiences, this finding is supported by the earlier research of Brittingham & Pezzullo (1990).

House (1987) found gender: male to be a predictor of alumni contributions. Although this study does not coincide with his findings, it is worth mentioning that the gender variable was significant for male students until the post-college variable, Individual Income, was controlled for. Given the large number of variables involved in this study, this may be an important finding. For instance, it might be possible that it was income level that House was observing rather than Gender: male as being a predictor of alumni contributions.

The fact that the variable, Relationships with Other Students, was the only undergraduate involvement variable to enter the regression is an important factor. Even though this variable is

not significant statistically, it still offers insight into the meaningfulness of "sociability" in relation to alumni contributions and certainly warrants further study.

Post-college experiences of Pepperdine alumni appear to be better indicators of receiving alumni contributions. Research by Brittingham & Pezzullo (1990) supports this conclusion as well. They discovered that findings on current status, beliefs, and behaviors of alumni are better predictors of contributions than characteristics or behaviors of alumni while they were students. Brittingham & Pezzullo (1990) also stated that alumni in higher paying positions are more likely to be contributors. This was evidenced to be a significant factor for the cohort group in this study also, however, when gender was separated a higher income was significant for males only.

When looking at undergraduate variables that relate to involvement in alumni activities, volunteerism and participation in Pepperdine's Year-In-Europe program are variables that likely help to instill strong emotional attachments to the University. Baade and Sundberg (1993) along with Brittingham & Pezzullo (1990) and Seymour (1988) place a great deal of importance on this attribute and its relationship with alumni contributions. This emotional attachment, or "pride of association" as Seymour (1988) calls it, appears to be a key element in relation to both alumni involvement and alumni contributions.

Although this study provides some helpful information regarding issues that motivate alumni contributions, it is not without limitations. For example, the sample of alumni surveyed consists of a relatively young cohort group. Most of the alumni in the study graduated during the late 70s to early 80s. A suggestion for future research might be to replicate this study with an older group of alumni.

Implications For Practice

The general consensus from the research studied underscores the importance in taking measures to instill an emotional bond between the institution and undergraduates. The institution should keep this in mind while the students are still enrolled as undergraduates. Without the emotional attachment to the institution the students are less likely to be interested in either participating in the alumni organization or contributing as alumni.

This study highlights the importance of several post-college involvement activities/experiences that have a significant impact on obtaining contributions from Pepperdine alumni. One should be mindful that this study involved a small portion of Pepperdine's alumni population. Even with that in mind, however, some general implications for practice could prove to be helpful for future planning and solicitation of Pepperdine alumni for contributions. These include:

- Since involvement in alumni activities was such a strong predictor of the level of contribution, it seems that extra measures should be taken to encourage as many graduates as possible to participate in alumni functions and activities.
- Two possible avenues of generating greater alumni involvement include: (1) increasing alumni chapters across the United States and abroad, and (2) identifying alumni to assist the admission process in regions where there is large undergraduate student potential.
- Since involvement in fraternity and sorority alumni was also a predictor of alumni contributions, it would appear that close communication between the two organizations should be well coordinated.
- An additional strategy, which was suggested by Oglesby (1991), would be to concentrate on targeting older alumni since these alumni are more likely to have higher incomes.

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